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Linking the Visible Cities: The Chinese Junks Sailing between Nagasaki and Batavia (1665-1719)

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Abstract

Traffic between Jakarta (and later Batavia) and Nagasaki was unusual before the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established its trade to the two destinations. In the mid-17th century, Chinese junk traders under Zheng Chenggong's (鄭成功) protection ran this business from Amoy. After the 1650s, the commercial strife between the Zheng clan and the VOC threw a spanner in the works that eventually resulted in a war in 1661. In 1669, the Batavian authorities gradually relaxed their control over the Chinese junk trade on the Nagasaki-Batavia route. The antagonism between the Zheng regime in Taiwan and the VOC in Batavia, compounded by that between the Zheng and the Qing court on the Chinese mainland and the disputes between China and Japan, created a loophole for the Batavian Chinese to run the business on the Nagasaki-Batavia route in 1665-1719.

This article has consulted published and unpublished archival sources to clarify the rise and fall of the business of the Batavian Chinese on this route and also the duration of this voyage, the numbers of the crews, and the carried cargoes. The author has discovered that the blind eye turned by the Batavian authorities was crucial, and this trade contributed to the expansion of the plantations owned by Batavian Chinese officers. Their experience in exploiting the leeway granted by different states was the legacy that led to the success of the later junk traders on China Seas in the 18th century.

Keywords: Nagasaki, Batavia, Chinese Junk Trade, VOC, Batavian Chinese.

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1. Introduction

The East Asian maritime world blossomed as the 16th century neared its end. The long-distance trade in bullion and spices converged on China from the East and South China Seas. Anthony Reid has called it the peak of the "age of commerce" of Southeast Asia because the export growth (mainly in spices) of Southeast Asia entered into an exceptionally prosperous period in 1580-1630.[1] André Gunder Frank concludes that the engine behind global silver flows was the market expansion in China during the same period.[2] This economic growth intensified the silver circulation in Southeast Asia, making it a gateway to China. The Chinese oceanic traders, with their long history of sailing these broad stretches since ancient times, were naturally among those involved in the business, but they were joined by Arabs, Malays, Japanese and latecomer Europeans. European participation in the trade from the Indian Ocean to the seas around Java has been thoroughly explored, as have the activities of Japanese traders in the East and South China Seas. However, the shipping activities between Java and Japan have not attracted enough attention. The

1 Anthony Reid, *A History of Southeast Asia: Critical Crossroads* (West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), p. 75.

2 André Gunder Frank, *Re-Orient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 117, 250-251.

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ultimate reason for this is quite obvious. Before the boom in the export of Japanese silver in the middle of the 16th century, the desire to make contact with the Japanese from other corners of the world was fairly lukewarm. Most of the trading links between Japan and the Asian continent were channeled through several straits. The nearest sea route for Japan was with Northern China. The bulk of the commodities, ideas, and people that originated farther south passed via this more secure route. The rise in extractions from the Iwami silver mine greatly changed this status quo, and Chinese traders on their technically advanced vessels flocked to Japanese harbors. Since the middle of the 17th century, Nagasaki had been a prominent international harbor city due to the Tokugawa Shogunal courts' exclusion policy, which permitted this city to be the exception that could trade with foreigners.

When the Chinese overthrew the Mongolians in the 14th century, the new Chinese court, the Ming, dispatched several expeditions led by the eunuch Zheng He to make contact with all the participants in the trade along the route from China to India and to invite merchants to trade with China in the guise of tribute. The Chinese Ming court soon discovered that accepting a few foreign merchants was less expensive and less risky than allowing the Chinese to trade abroad and hence escape government surveillance. The court proclaimed a sea ban that lasted until 1567, when new circumstances forced it to reform and permit only the traders from Fujian to participate in this overseas enterprise.[3] This was the time at which Europeans first sailed into East Asian waters. When the Chinese Fujian traders once again found their way to Southeast Asian

3 This dramatic turn of event was a result of prolonged policy debates at the Chinese court about how to tackle the unremitting raids and smuggling trade along the China coast by the Japanese pirate-merchants. See: Chang Pin-tsun 張彬村, "Chinese Maritime Trade: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Fuchien" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1983); Ng Chin-keong, *Boundaries and Beyond: China's Maritime Southeast in Late Imperial Times* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2017), pp. 261-291.

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harbors, the commercial environment had changed in response to the impact of the new European traders.[4] The most important emporium, Malacca, was taken by the Portuguese in 1511, and the Malay traders began to frequent Makassar as an alternative.[5] The Northern Europeans, namely the Dutch and English, arrived later, near the end of that century, and initiated their cooperation with Chinese in Banten, which had stepped up its pepper exports after the fall of Malacca.[6] After some struggles accompanied by a modicum of mayhem, the VOC established its headquarter in Batavia near Banten and expanded its rich intra-Asia trade, and, as its partners and subjects, the Chinese often prospered.[7]

Nagasaki and Batavia, which lay at the two extreme ends of the commercial shipping route of the Far East, were therefore first connected via the VOC after it established a trading relationship with Japan, although initially most of the revenue came not from this route but from the silk-for-silver trade in the first half of the 17th century. (Silk was first supplied by China, then Tonkin

4 Leonard Blussé, "No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690," *Modern Asian Studies* 30, no. 1 (February 1996, Cambridge), pp. 55-61.

5 Leonard Y. Andaya, "The Bugis-Makassar Diasporas," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 68, no. 1 (1995, Kuala Lumpur), p. 119.

6 On the initiation of the cooperation between the Dutch and the Chinese in Banten, see: M.A.P. Melink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago Between 1500 and About 1630* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), pp. 173-206. About the expansion of pepper exports of Banten, see: J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Banten: A West Indonesian Port and Polity During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise*, ed. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 1990), p. 108.

7 For a general overview on the Batavian Chinese settlers and their junk trade from 1619 to 1790, see: Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht: The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, 1986), pp. 73-155.

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and the Coromandel Coast.)[8] Using this route, the VOC could offer Indian and Indonesian spices on the Japanese market directly via Batavia, without transshipping at other harbors in China, Cochin-China, Vietnam or Siam. This opened a new possibility for Chinese junk traders to also take part in this trade. In fact, the Chinese junk traders sailed this route for roughly 55 years (1665-1719).[9] Several earlier studies have focused on the whole structural shift during the 17th- and 18th-century Chinese shipping networks around East and Southeast Asia, for example, Anthony Reid, Leonard Blussé, Iwao Seiichi, Chu Te-lan, and Yao Keisuke.[10] The last researcher, Yao has applied Japanese

8 Blussé, "No Boats to China," pp. 60-71; Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), pp. 57, 124.

9 Although there are also scattered records in 1735, 1752, and 1753 that note that junks from Batavia visited Japan, these are irrelevant to the goal of the present study. See: Nagazumi Yoko 永積洋子, *Tōsen yushutsunyūhin sūryō ichiran, 1637-1833-nen: fukugen tōsen kamotsu aratamechō, kihan nimotsu kaiwatashichō* 唐船出入品数量一覧・1637-1833：復原唐船貨物改帳・帰帆荷物買渡帳 [Overview of Commodities Imported into and Exported from Japan on Chinese Junks 1637-1833] (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, Shōwa 62 [1987]), pp. 102, 126-127.

10 Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 285-291. Blussé, *Strange Company*, pp. 97-155. Iwao Seiichi 岩生成一, "Kinsei Nisshi bōeki ni kansuru Sūryōteki Kōsatsu 近世日支貿易に關する數量的考察 [A Study on the Chinese Trade with Japan in the 12th Century, chiefly on their volume and quantity]," *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 [Historical Journal of Japan] 62, no. 11 (November 1953, Tokyo), pp. 981-1020. Chu Te-lan 朱德蘭, "Qingchu qianjielingshi zhongguochuan haishang maoyi zhi yanjiu 清初遷界令時中國船海上貿易之研究 [Maritime Commerce by Chinese Ships during the Early Qing Coastal Blockade]," in *Zhongguo haiyang fazhanshi lunwenji* 2 中國海洋發展史論文集（二）[Essays in Chinese Maritime History (II)], ed. Editorial Board of Zhongguo haiyang fazhanshi lunwenji (Taipei: Institute of the Three Principles of the People, Academia Sinica, 1986), pp. 105-109. Shimada Ryuto 島田竜登, "Tosen Raiko Ruto no Henka to kinsei Nihon no Kokusan Daitai-ka 唐船来航ルートの変化と近世日本の国産代替化——蘇木・紅花を事例として [The Influence of Change in Junk Trading Routes upon Production in Early Modern Japan]," *Waseda Keizaigaku Kenkyu* 早稲田経済学研究 [Waseda Economic Studies] 49 (September 1999, Tokyo), pp. 59-71. Yao Keisuke 八百啓介, "The Chinese Junk Trade between Japan and Southeast Asia in the

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records, the “Ka’i hentai”, to comprehensively explain the shift in the Chinese junk networks over a period of decades. His major contribution is to disclose the fact that the decline in the number of Southeast Asian junks visiting Japan in the second half of the 17th century was actually a result of network shifting. The Southeast Asian junks bound for Japan were calling at China more frequently during this period. He also points out that the expanding domestic market in China in the first two decades of the 18th century also greatly contributed to the decline in the number of Chinese junks that were bound for Japan but still called at ports in Southeast Asia for sought-after tropical goods. In other words, the harbors along the Chinese mainland became the main emporia in which most Southeast Asian commodities were traded. Given the background of these studies, this article does not dispute the grand picture revealed by scholars, but instead wants to look into the Chinese junk traders who were not based on Chinese soil. Therefore the scope of this article will be closer to that of Dr. Iioka Naoko, who has told the story of the Chinese junk trader Wei brothers who sailed the route between Tonkin (Vietnam) and Nagasaki (Japan).[11] This article reports some basic facts about the junk traders

17-18th Centuries,” *Journal of the Faculty of Humanities, the University of Kitakyushu* 北九州市立大学文学部紀要 68 号 (2004, Fukuoka), pp. 1-18.

11 Iioka Naoko 飯崗直子, “Literati Entrepreneur: Wei Zhiyan in the Tonkin-Nagasaki Silk Trade,” (PhD diss., National University of Singapore, 2009). Many studies focusing on the Chinese junk trade between China and Japan published in the last half century have also touched on the trade between Japan and Southeast Asia. For a broad review of all those results see: Liu Shiuh-Feng 劉序楓, “You Huayibiantai kan Qingchu Dongyahaiyu de Haishangjiaotong Qingkuang- yi Chuanzhide Wanglai han Renyuande Yidong Weizhongxin 由《華夷變態》看清初東亞海域的海上交通情況——以船隻的往來和人員的移動為中心（1674-1728） [Voyages on the East Asian Maritime Realm during the Early Qing as Seen from the *Ka’i Hentai*: Centering on the Movement of Ships and People (1674-1728)],” in *Haiyangshi Yanjiu* 海洋史研究 [Studies of Maritime History], vol. 1, ed. Li Qingxin 李慶新 (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2010), pp. 32-56.

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along the Batavia-Nagasaki route in terms of: (1) how long the voyage took and when did they set sail each monsoon season; (2) who were these Chinese junk traders and under what political circumstances did they benefit from running this route; (3) what kinds of commodities did they export and import and how their role in the Dutch colony had a bearing on their economic activities; and (4) how this direct link was substantially a closed shop (e.g. not open to outsiders).

2. The Voyage

At the two terminuses (Batavia and Nagasaki) of this route, the VOC records allow us to trace some of the sailing dates of the Chinese junk, including the dates of departure and arrival. These materials help us to reconstruct the time span of the voyage empirically.

Table 1 shows that the voyage from Batavia to Nagasaki could be achieved in 40 days, but usually took about 50 days.[12] The dates of departure fell between 2-5 June (although 1 did depart on the 14th), while the dates of arrival fell between 12 July and 6 August. Obviously natural causes could make the junk arrive up to a fortnight before or after 25 July. A Chinese log-record of the same voyage was collected by a mysterious Chinese author Wu, in a compilation of Chinese sailing directions called the "*Zhinan Zhengfa* 指南正法 (Correct Ways to Determine Directions)." This log-record commenced in the Yi-chou (乙丑) year, the 28th day of the fourth month of the Chinese (lunar) calendar. On this day a junk set sail from the roadstead of Batavia. Three particular years in the 17th and the 18th century tally with Yi-chou: 1625, 1685 and 1745. The complier of its modern edition, Xiang Da (向達), has deduced

12 A nachoda (a term borrowed from Persian, referring to a captain of a junk) of a Batavian junk that arrived in Nagasaki on 24 July 1649 reported his voyage had taken 45 days, that also falls in the range I have concluded.

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that this compilation appeared in the early 18th century; therefore the last possibility can be eliminated.[13]

As mentioned before, these direct links fall in the range of 1665-1719. Therefore, this log-record is very probably based on a real voyage of a Batavian junk that bound for Japan in 1685. If it was true, the date of departure converted to the Gregorian calendar would be 30 May 1685. According to *the Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 2 junks bound for Japan did depart in May 1685.[14] In *Zhinan Zhengfa*, this Chinese log-record is entitled "*Jiaoliuba hui Changqi Riqing* 咬嘮吧回長崎日清 (Log from Jakarta to Nagasaki)." After she (one of the 2 junks) set off, it took 7 days to sail from Batavia to Palembang and she passed Malacca 3 days later. After sailing north from Malacca, she caught the southwest monsoon. 5 days later, she arrived in the waters near Pulao Kunlun and sailed on for 3 days along the coast of Champa (Southern Vietnam). After following the coast of Vietnam for 9 days, Hainan Island off the Southern coast of China was sighted. During the following 9 days the crew sailed along the Chinese coast, setting a course to the northeast until Taiwan came in sight. The next day she sailed from Jilong (雞籠) at the northern tip of Taiwan and reached Okinawa 3 days later. Another 5 days' voyage brought her to Nagasaki, where she waited another 2 days to drop anchor in the harbor.[15] The whole voyage

13 Xiang Da 向達, *Liangzhong Haidao Zhenjing* 兩種海道針經 [Two Chinese Sailing Directions / Rutters] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1982), p. 4.

14 Unpublished archival sources in the national archives, Jakatra, Indonesia, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta, Hoge Regering, Archief van de gouverneur-generaal en raden van Indië van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie en taakopvolgers, 1612-1811, nr. 2498, De dagregisters int casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaatse als over geheel Nederlands-India, Jan.-Aug. 1685 [The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-Aug. 1685)], Batavia, 31 May 1685, fo. 431. (Hereafter "ID-JaAN inventory no., The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle [year], fo. [date]")

15 Xiang Da, *Liangzhong Haidao Zhenjing*, pp. 182-184. The Chinese log-book records its voyage using "geng (更)" as the unit of distance. 10 geng is equal to the distance of the

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took a total of 47 days. This result also is strikingly close to the estimate above. Table 2 examines the duration of the voyage from Nagasaki to Batavia sailing before the north monsoon.

Table 1: The Duration of Voyage from Batavia to Nagasaki

Year	Date Departed from Batavia	Date Arrived at Nagasaki	Duration of the Voyage
1656	6-14*	8-2	50
1665	6-5	8-6	62
1670	6-2*	7-22	50
1673	6-5*	7-30	55
1673	6-5*	8-5	61
1676	6-3*	7-12	40

Source: J. A. van der Chijs, H. T. Colenbrander, J. De Hullu, F. De Haan, W. Fruin-Mees, eds., *Daghregister gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands India*, 31 vols (Batavia and The Hague: Ministerie van Koloniën, 1888-1931), vol. 1665, p. 133 (5 June 1665). (Hereafter "*The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle,* volume by year, page [date]"); Cynthia Viallé, and Leonard Blussé, trans. from the Dutch and eds., *The Deshima dagregisters: their original tables of contents*, 13 vols (Leiden: Institute for the History of European Expansion, 1986-2010), vol. 12, p. 260 (3 Aug. 1656). (Hereafter "*The Deshima Diaries* [volume], page [date]"); *The Deshima Diaries* (13), p. 345 (28 Aug. 1670); Unpublished archival sources in The Hague, The Netherlands, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), nummer toegang 1.04.02, inventarisnummer 1294, Japans daghregister van den jare 1673 gehouden bij den Ed. Martinus Caesar in't rijck van Japan*,* Deshima, 30 July 1673, fos. 565-622 at fo. 603 (Hereafter "VOC inventory no., The Deshima Diaries [year], fo. [date]"); VOC 1322, The Deshima Diaries (Nov. 1675-Oct. 1676)*,* fo. 1504^{r} (13 July 1676).

Explanation: "*" is the date when the pass or letter was issued.

voyage that a junk usually covered in one day and one night sailing before the wind. Cf: Zhang Xie 張燮, *Dongxi Yangkao* 東西洋考 [Authenticated Knowledge of the Eastern and Western Oceans] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1617/2000), p. 170. I have converted the record of this voyage from geng to days.

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Table 2: Duration of Voyages from Nagasaki to Batavia

Year	Date Departed from Nagasaki	Date Arrived at Batavia	Duration of Voyage (days)
1664	1-2	2-3	33
1666/7	12-10	1-10 (via China Coast)	32
1668	1-9*	2-4	27
1669	1-1	2-14	45
1670	1-10	2-4	26
1671	1-21	2-17	28
1672	1-13	2-4	23
1674	1-1*	2-9 (via Banten)	40
1674/5	12-25*	2-13	50
1676	1-10*	2-14	36
1676/7	12-29*	2-14	48
1677/8	12-23*	1-27	35
1679	1-15*	2-20	37
1679/80	12-16*	2-1	48
1679/80	12-11*	2-10	61
1681/2	12-28*	2-10	45
1682/3	12-7	1-4	29**
	12-20	1-20	32**
	12-16*	1-23	39
1683/4	12-2*	1-12	42
1685	1-19*	2-17	30
1693/4	11-8*	1-15 (via Ningbo 寧波)	69
1694/5	11-26*	3-11	106
1695/6	12-26*	3-3	69
1697/8	11-16*	2-11	88
1711	1-11*	4-4	84

Source: *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1664, p. 30 (3 Feb. 1664); 1666-1667, p. 223 (10 Jan. 1667); 1668-1669, pp. 25 (4 Feb. 1668), 252 (14 Feb. 1669); 1670-1671, pp. 16 (4 Feb. 1670), 260 (17 Feb. 1671); 1672, p. 32 (4 Feb. 1672); 1674, pp. 47-48 (11, 15 Feb. 1674); 1675, p. 66 (13 Feb. 1675); 1676, p. 35 (14 Feb. 1676); 1677, p. 45 (11 Feb. 1677); 1678, p. 42 (27 Feb. 1678); 1679, p. 60 (20 Feb. 1679); 1680, pp. 53

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(1 Feb. 1680), 70 (10 Feb. 1680); 1682 (I), p. 143 (10 Feb. 1682); ID-JaAN 2495, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1683), fos. 11 (4 Jan. 1683), 87 (20 Jan. 1683), 118 (23 Jan. 1683); ID-JaAN 2496, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1684), fo. 23 (12 Jan. 1684); ID-JaAN 2512, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-May 1694), fo. 20 (15 Jan. 1694); ID-JaAN 2514, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1695), fo. 187 (11 Mar. 1695); ID-JaAN 2515, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1696), fo. 143 (3 Mar. 1696); ID-JaAN 2518, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1698), fo. 82 (11 Feb. 1698); ID-JaAN 2535, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1711), fo. 285 (4 April 1711); *The Deshima Diaries* (13), pp. 92 (2 Jan. 1664), 206-207 (5-10 Dec. 1666), 241-242 (12-15 Jan. 1668), 284-285 (1 Jan. 1669), 323 (10 Jan. 1670); VOC 1283, The Deshima Diaries (Nov. 1670-Oct. 1671)", fo. 1763^{r-v} (21 Jan. 1671); VOC 1290, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1671-Nov. 1672), fo. 331^{r} (13 Jan. 1672); VOC 1386, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1682-Nov. 1683), fo. 762^{v} (31 Dec. 1682).

Explanation: "*" marks the date when the pass or letter was issued. The voyages marked with "**" are defined assuming the junks that departed earlier also arrived earlier in the same sailing season.

Table 2 shows that the dates of departure could be as early as 2 December or as late as 20 February in the following year, if we skip the extremely early departures in November and extremely late arrivals in March as well as April, and assume it was planned that they call in at some other harbors on the way. Therefore the duration of this voyage spanned a range from 23 days to 50 days. Not all records show that the vessels called at a third harbor during their voyage. However, taking those examples that certainly did, it seems that voyages of more than 40 days can be ruled out. Hence, the author estimates that the usual duration for this voyage fell in the range of 23 to 39 days. The *Zhinan Zhengfa* also contains a log from Nagasaki to Batavia (*Changqi Wang Jiaoliuba Riqing* 長崎往咬嘮吧日清).[16] The junk departed on the 9th day of the 11th month in the year Ji-chou (己丑). Using the above logic, the year is presumably

16 Xiang Da, *Liangzhong Haidao Zhenjing*, pp. 184-186.

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1709. Unfortunately the present author has not found any trace of this voyage in *the Daily Journal of Batavia Castle* or in *the Deshima Diaries*. Only in the following June (1710) was there a Batavian junk that departed to Nagasaki. Hence she probably had taken a voyage in the winter/spring of 1709/10.[17] The duration of the voyage kept by the log in *Zhinan Zhengfa* lasted 32 days and tallies with the above estimation.

3. The Participants

Although Chinese Fujian merchants had been visiting Jakarta legally since 1567, so far there is no clear evidence that they sailed from there to Japan. The luxury trade in the region was silk for silver between China and Japan, and the Portuguese and Chinese smugglers could supply Japanese buyers with tropical commodities. This exchange was carried out at different meeting places for Chinese and Japanese traders; consequently the transit trade was mainstream most of the time. The most popular harbors on the Sino-Japanese transit trade were in Tonkin, Quinam, Siam, and Manila.

An accidental voyage to Batavia by the Japanese merchant Hayashi Kiemon (林喜右衛門, a Chinese descendant) in December 1634 was permitted by the Batavian authorities in recognition of his rescue of a VOC ship wrecked off the coast of Quinam.[18] He arrived in Batavia on 23 January 1635 and was

17 ID-JaAN 2534, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1710), fo. 348 (30 June 1710).

18 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1631-1634, p. 457 (12 Dec. 1634); Leonard Blussé, Margot E. van Opstall, Ts'ao Yung-ho, and Wouter. E. Milde, eds., *De dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia: Taiwan 1629-1662* [The Diaries of the Castle Zeelandia] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), vol. 1, p. 201 (25 Nov. 1634); p. 53 (9 July 1631). (Hereafter "*Dagregister Zeelandia*") For further detailed information about Hayashi Kiemon, see: Nagazumi Yoko 永積洋子, *Shuinsen* 朱印船 [Red Seal Ships] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001), pp. 222-229.

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rewarded with goods and cash.[19] He also borrowed some capital to invest in his Quinam-Batavia voyage. After both sides cleared the bills in Batavia, the Batavian authorities found he still owed the Dutch East India Company (hereafter the Company) some money. Kiemon therefore proposed paying this debt in Taiwan (a colony of the Dutch East India Company at that moment), using some goods carried by his people after he had returned to Quinam.[20] In fact, he actually executed this plan in person and safely arrived in Taiwan via Quinam in August 1635 to receive his cargoes carried to Taiwan on a VOC ship, and sold them.[21] But when he submitted another request to trade his tropical goods (camphor, lead and pepper) for Chinese goods (presumably silks) in Taiwan to be sold in Quinam, the governor of Taiwan, Hans Putmans refused the request.[22] Apparently he was also targeting the Sino-Japanese trade and wished to find some channel by which he could bring his plan to fruition. This was the period in which the Shogunal court was gradually reducing the Japanese traders' activities abroad, leaving a vacuum to be filled by other agents. Nevertheless, Kiemon's stay in Batavia could have stirred the desire of some Chinese residents there to venture into the trade from Batavia to Japan. In September 1635, after Kiemon returned to Quinam, he complained about Governor Putmans' thwarting of his plan. He had also carried on board a Batavian Chinese named Sicquan, who had accompanied Kiemon to Siam to request a pass from the VOC factor, Jeremias van Vliet, there, in order to equip a junk to sail from Siam to Japan. This was in April of 1636. The VOC merchant in Siam also duly refused his request, because his pass only allowed

19 ID-JaAN 857, De generale resoluties van het kasteel Batavia, 23 Jan. 1635-31 Mei. 1637 [The Batavia Resolutions (23 Jan. 1635-31 May 1637)], Batavia, fo. 1 (23 Jan. 1635). (Hereafter "ID-JaAN inventory no., The Batavia Resolutions [year]")

20 ID-JaAN 857, The Batavia Resolutions (Jan. 1635-May 1637), fo. 53 (7 June 1635).

21 *Dagregister Zeelandia* (1), p. 225 (22 Aug. 1635).

22 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1636, p. 77 (21 April 1636).

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him one round trip, from Batavia to Siam and back.[23] Sicquan took issue with the VOC personnel several times. They eventually compromised and issued him a pass to Quinam but no farther north.[24] It is likely Sicquan would have taken advantage of this pass and ventured to Japan with his junk.[25] This was the first attempt so far known by a Chinese citizen to develop a trade with Japan from a base in Batavia. When the VOC began to enjoy profits from Sino-Japanese trade via Taiwan, it shared an economic benefit with the Chinese traders under the protection of Southeast Asian rulers like Tonkin, Quinam, and Siam, who were more or less anticipating in this trade, and waiting to fill the hole in the market left by the Japanese *Gojuin* junk traders. The most prominent agents in this business, at the time the VOC was holding Taiwan as the major transit harbor, were the Fujianese traders under the protection of Chinese Sea Admiral Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍). The Batavian Chinese traders, although living under the aegis of the VOC, were not welcome to share this cake. Although the Company never officially banned their commercial ventures by any written order, it never issued any of them a pass on the Batavia-Nagasaki route. It is possible that even the Batavian Chinese Sicquan had emigrated to Quinam, because on 22 July 1642, a Chinese nachoda named "Siqua" claimed he had

23 VOC 1119, Origineel daghregister gehouden bij den E. Jeremias van Vliet van 10 Maert tot 14 November 1636 [Ayuttahaya Diaries from 10 Mar. to 14 Nov. 1636], Ayuttahaya, 14 Nov. 1636, fos. 1344-1345 (3 April, 14 April 1636); VOC 1119, Originele missive van den coopman Jeremias van Vliet aen den gouverneur generael Van Diemen in dato 13 November 1636 [The Letter sent by Merchant Jeremias van Vliet to Governor General Anthonio van Diemen], Ayuttahaya, 13 Nov. 1636, fo. 1266.

24 VOC 1119, Bekentnisse ende beloft van Siquan Chinees [The Acknowledgement and Promise by Chinese Siquan], Ayuttahaya, 15 May 1635, fo. 1428.

25 VOC 1125, Copie missive bij Jeremias van Vliet tot Siam aen president Nicolaes Couckebacker tot Firando [The Letter sent by Jeremias van Vliet in Siam to president Nicolaes Couckebacker in Firando], Ayuttahaya, 11 June 1637, fo. 547.

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been sailing the route between Quinam and Japan for 10 years.[26]

The situation changed drastically in the late 1640s when the Chinese Ming Empire fell because of the Manchu invasion and domestic rebellions. At this time, the cash-strapped Fujian traders, who resisted the invasions of both home-grown bandits and Manchus in their homeland, had no choice but to expand their monopoly on Chinese silk exports to cover the increasing costs of their self-defense. In dire need of silk, the VOC turned to Tonkin and India to meet the Japanese demand.[27] As the importance of the Sino-Japanese trade was dwindling, the Batavian authorities also became more tolerant toward the fairly modest enterprises of the Batavian Chinese. In July 1649, a junk equipped by a Batavian Chinese trader, Siqua, arrived in Nagasaki, directly from Batavia.[28] On 22 January 1651, he left Japan with an official letter written by the VOC factor, Pieter Sterhemius, to the Governor-General in Batavia.[29] Apparently he sailed back and forth on this route (in 1648 via China) continuously from 1648 to 1653. However, the period of such slack control was brief. The Company soon realized that its superior capability to supply tropical commodities was crucial to protecting its status in Japan, and took steps to discourage other traders. A Chinese nachoda, Lipsien, went to Batavia and requested a pass for a voyage to Japan in the late spring of 1651, but was rejected by the High Government of the Indies (Gouvernour-Generaal ende Raad van Indië).[30] The Dutch authorities were determined not to issue a pass to any person of any nation to ply this direct connection from Batavia to Nagasaki. Without any

26 *The Deshima Diaries* (11), p. 69 (22 July 1642).

27 Blussé, *Strange Company*, pp. 66-69.

28 *The Deshima Diaries* (11), p. 355 (24 July 1649).

29 *The Deshima Diaries* (12), p. 7 (22 Jan. 1651).

30 VOC 673, Kopie resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden, 27 Jan. 1651-24 Jan. 1652 [The Batavia Resolutions (Jan. 1651-Jan. 1652)], Batavia, 24 Jan. 1652, not foliated (25 April 1651). (Hereafter "VOC inventory no., The Batavia Resolutions [year]")

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chance of obtaining a pass on the direct link, Siqua's voyage from Batavia to Nagasaki must have called in somewhere else before he set sail again to Japan. During 1654 and 1655, no one sailed this route. In the spring of 1657 another Chinese trader Rocquan, who was usually involved in the Japan-Tonkin trade and was based in Japan, sailed from Nagasaki to Batavia via Ayutthaya.[31] In the spring of 1658, he was alleged to have traded on the same route again. However, after departing from Nagasaki, he might not have reached any farther than Ayutthaya.[32] In the summer of 1660, he again arrived in Nagasaki from Ayutthaya.[33] Rocquan, who has been identified as "Dongjing Liuguan" (東京六官), was the servant of a famous Japanese Chinese trader, Wei Zhiyan (魏之琰).[34] Rocquan was the brother of Lipsien, who was stationed in Siam. No wonder they tried to extend their trade from Siam to Batavia! In the 1650s, it seems pressure eased and the VOC servants were more willing to issue passes in Siam and Tonkin to the Chinese traders, because they could serve as competitors and damage the business of Zheng Chenggong (Zheng Zhilong's successor) on the same routes.

In 1656 another Chinese trader, Wansik, collected some capital from Japanese investors for his venture to Malacca (which fell into Dutch hands in

31 *The Deshima Diaries* (12), p. 304 (8 April 1657); Unpublished archival source in The Hague, The Netherlands, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Nederlandse Factorij in Japan, nummer toegang 1.04.21, inventarisnummer 289 (Hereafter "NFJ inventory no."), Missive door den E. Joan Boucheljon en den raet deses comptoirs nangasackij aan d'Edle Hr. gouverneur generael [Joan Maetsuijcker] in dato 24 December 1657 per een Chinese jonck over Siam naer Batavia gesont [Letter sent by Joan Boucheljon and the Council of Factory at Nagasaki through a Chinese junk to Batavia for governor general Joan Maetsuijcker on 24 Dec. 1657], Deshima, 24 Dec. 1657, fo. 1.

32 *The Deshima Diaries* (12), p. 349 (16 April 1658).

33 *The Deshima Diaries* (12), pp. 426-427 (17 Aug. 1660).

34 For more details about the activities of mentioned figures see: Naoko Iioka, "Literati Entrepreneur," pp. 96-97.

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1641), but was captured by VOC ships and taken to Batavia. The Batavian authorities impounded 4,846 taels from him and told him he could withdraw it from the Company treasury in Nagasaki.[35] He sailed back to Nagasaki directly from Batavia in the summer of 1657 and once more attempted to sail to Batavia the following winter, but eventually gave up on this attempt and sailed to Pattani instead.[36] In the spring of 1658, he sailed from Japan to Cambodia and returned to Nagasaki from Pattani the following summer.[37] He must have given up on his plan to trade in Malacca or Batavia by that time. Wansik was not a Batavian citizen, and was also not a subject or client of the Chinese Zheng clan. The Dutch records show that he was a native of Fuzhou and lived under Manchu rule.[38] Meanwhile, Siqua re-emerges in the diary kept on Deshima in 1658 when he accomplished a voyage from Ayutthaya to Nagasaki.[39] He must have also preferred Ayutthaya to Batavia as his base. All of them, Siqua, Lipsien, Rocquan, and Wansik, were Chinese junk traders who had been marginalized by Zheng Chenggong's monopoly on Sino-Japan trade on the one hand and were excluded by the VOC monopoly on the Southeast Asian tropical commodities on the other. They all tried their luck on the direct link between

35 *The Deshima Diaries* (12), p. 266 (15 Sept. 1656); NFJ 289, Missive door den E. Joan Boucheljon en den raet deses comptoirs nangasackij aan d'Edle Hr. gouverneur generael [Joan Maetsuijcker] in dato 24 December 1657 per een Chinese jonck over Siam naer Batavia gesont [Letter sent by Joan Boucheljon and the Council of Factory at Nagasaki through a Chinese junk to Batavia for governor general Joan Maetsuijcker on 24 Dec. 1657], Deshima, 24 Dec. 1657, fo. 3. He did withdrew his money in Japan and spent it on a new large junk.

36 *The Deshima Diaries* (12), p. 314 (18 Aug. 1657).

37 *The Deshima Diaries* (12), p. 349 (16 April 1658); p. 366 (6 Oct. 1658).

38 NFJ 288, Missive door haar Edlen [Joan Maetsuijcker] uijt Batavia naer Japan aen 't comptoir Nangasackij per de jachten Bloemendael en Haes geschreven dato 12 Julij anno. 1657 [Letter sent by His Excellency Joan Maetsuijcker from Batavia to Japan for the Factory Nagasaki through the yachts Bloemendael and Haes], Batavia, 12 July 1657, fos. 83-84.

39 *The Deshima Diaries* (12), p. 354 (20 July 1658).

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Batavia and Nagasaki at different times, but failed, and had chosen either Quinam or Siam as their base.

The already tense relationship between the Fujian merchants in Amoy (Xiamen, 廈門) under the rule of Zheng Chenggong and the VOC went from bad to worse in 1656. It was reduced to a stalemate around 1658-1660. Zheng Chenggong eventually took up arms against the VOC and captured one of its trading posts and colonies, Taiwan, in the spring of 1662. During the war, the Zheng forces treated the Chinese traders living under Dutch rule as enemies. For example, a junk happened to sail into a harbor in Taiwan (probably the bay of Tayouan) from Batavia on 28 July 1661, when Zheng Chenggong's troops were laying siege to the Dutch Fort Zeelandia. The junk belonged to the nachoda Siqua and was duly plundered.[40]

It seems that during the war between the two maritime forces from 1661-1664, when the VOC drove the Zheng forces from the coast of Fujian and occupied Jilong at the northern tip of Taiwan, the Chinese junk traders in Southeast Asia did not dare to enter these troubled waters of the East China Sea. The Wei brothers were among the few exceptions who could still remain neutral during the conflicts between the Zheng force and the VOC, as they enjoyed the protection of the Japanese Shogun. In the winter of 1663, the first junk that was entrusted with a letter from the chief merchant of the Company departed from Japan bound for Batavia; something that had not happened since 1656. In the following year, 1664, another junk carrying Japanese products sailed directly from Nagasaki to Batavia, arriving safely under the command of Nachoda Phanquan. He approached the senior merchant of the VOC in Nagasaki, Willem Volger, and introduced himself as an associate of the Chinese captain (the leader of the Chinese community officially recognized and granted this title by

40 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1661, p. 505 (21 Dec. 1661).

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the VOC), Gaan Siquan (Yan Erguan 顏二官), in Batavia.[41] He also complained about being ill-treated by the king of Quinam, the reason he had to leave and seek a new sponsor for his business. Phanquan therefore requested permission to sail directly to Batavia. The senior merchant granted him this and provided him with an official letter.[42]

In the summer of 1665, a Chinese nachoda submitted a petition to the High Government of the Indies on 5 June 1665 requesting a pass to Nagasaki issued by the Governor-General Joan Maetsuijcker.[43] It is said that he had come from Nagasaki earlier that year, but there was no record of his arrival in *the Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*. In the meeting of the High Government of the Indies, the Batavian authorities cited the instructions given by the Gentlemen XVII in 1651, voicing their disapproval of issuing passes to junks bound directly to Nagasaki from Batavia. They decided to abide by this earlier order and to refuse the nachoda's request. However, they also intimated that the VOC would not

41 B. Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren te Batavia onder de Compagnie [Chinese officers at Batavia in the days of the VOC]," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van nederlandsch-Indië* [Contributions to Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Indies] 78, no. 1 (1922, Leiden), pp. 1-136, at 22-27. This Siquan was not the nachoda who lived in Siam, but a Chinese officer in Batavia. For general knowledge about the Chinese cooperation in Batavia and the function of the different Chinese officials, see: Leonard Blussé, "Batavia, 1619-1740: The Rise and Fall of a Chinese Colonial Town," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1981, Cambridge), pp. 159-178. The last name of Yan Erguan, "Gaan", can also be written as "Gan." In this article all the Batavian Chinese names remain in the Dutch spelling form and are marked with the Mandarin in Hanyu spelling when it is mentioned for the first time, if can be identified.

42 VOC 1247, Missive van de opperhoofden te Nangasacki aen den gouverneur generaal Joan Maetsuijcker ende raden van India [The Letter sent by Chief Members at Nagasaki to the Governor General Joan Maetsuijcker and the Council of the Indies], Deshima, 1 Jan. 1664, fo. 21.

43 ID-JaAN 877, The Batavia Resolutions (1665), fos. 186-187 (5 June 1665); *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1665, p. 133 (5 June 1665).

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prevent any more distant voyages of any junk if she departed from Tonkin, Quinam or Cambodia (Siam was an exception) to Japan. Since the junks were allowed to sail to these places freely, any further voyage to Japan would be beyond the jurisdiction of the VOC.[44]

Hence, with the tacit consent of the Batavian authorities, a junk arrived in Nagasaki on 6 August 1665 and claimed to have come directly from Batavia.[45] The name of this nachoda whose junk arrived in Nagasaki in the summer of 1665 is unknown, but a nachoda named Phancquan sailed directly to Batavia from there the following spring of 1666.[46] It seems Phancquan was probably the person who had requested a pass from the Batavian authorities earlier. In the following year, 1666, a junk, belonging to a Chinese captain (representative or leader of Chinese subjects), Gaan Siquan, arrived in Nagasaki from Batavia.[47] As mentioned above, Phancquan was a close associate of Gaan Siquan. Gaan Siquan could have already been a long-time investor in Phancquan's business before he dispatched this junk. Gaan Siquan was the second Chinese captain appointed in the year 1663, and passed away in May 1665. Before he was promoted to this rank in Batavia, he was, since the year 1643, a Chinese member of the Board of Elders in Batavia that adjudicated all disputes between Chinese inhabitants.[48] Since the Batavian authorities were reluctant to hand out formal passes for the shipping route from Batavia to Nagasaki, his official status

44 ID-JaAN 877, The Batavia Resolutions (1665), fos. 186-187 (5 June 1665).

45 *The Deshima Diaries* (13), p. 157 (6 Aug. 1665).

46 *The Deshima Diaries* (13), p. 173 (20 Jan. 1666).

47 *The Deshima Diaries* (13), p. 193 (26 July 1666); VOC 1264, Daghregister zedert primo November 1666 tot 22 Februarij 1667 gehouden door Pieter van Hoorn raadt extraordinaris van India, expres ambassadeur wegens de compagnie in 't rijck van China [The Daily Journal recorded by the Special Councilor and Ambassador to China, Pieter van Hoorn from 1 Nov. 1666 to 22 Feb. 1667], Canton, 6 Nov. 1666, fo. 149.

48 Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren," pp. 22-27.

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under the Batavian government must have given Gaan Siquan some advantages over other, more humble traders. In fact, this shipping route gradually became a prerogative of the Chinese officers in Batavia. This business was carried on regularly in the years 1666-1683. The frequency is presented in the Table 3.

Despite the incompleteness of the surviving records, the author received the firm impression that numerous Chinese officers in Batavia were involved in this regular business. For example, Tsoa Wanjock (Cai Huan-yu 蔡煥玉), who arrived in Batavia around 1638, was later appointed as one of the Managers of Estates (of the Deceased) (Boedelmeesters, 武直迷) from 1661 to 1662, from 1664 to 1665 and from 1669 to 1676.[49] In 1678 he succeeded to the position of the late Chinese captain Gaan Siquan, whose vacant position had been provisionally held by his widow from 1665 until then.[50] When Phanquan began to manage Gaan Siquan's capital and run this route around 1665, rumors spread that Tsoa Wanjock was also equipping a junk for the same route.[51] Eventually his name emerged as the owner of one junk that arrived in Batavia from Nagasaki in the spring of 1670.[52] And again for the junks that arrived in the spring of 1681 and 1683.[53] In 1682 Tsoa Wanjock passed away during his term

49 "Tsoa" can also be written as "Tsoa" or "Tsioa"; "Wanjock" can be written as "Wanjok." The "Estate Managers" or "Estate Masters" were a committee formally described as "College van boedelmeesteren" (Non-Christian Deceased Estates Chamber). It was established to prevent the "defrauding and plundering" prevalent in houses of deceased Chinese and other non-Christians. See: John Ball, *Indonesian Legal History, 1602-1848* (Sydney: Oughtershaw Press, 1982), p. 24; Leonard Blussé, "The Kai Ba Lidai Shiji 開吧歷代史記: An autonomous history of the Chinese community of Batavia/Jakarta in the VOC period," *Wacana* 18, no. 2 (2017, Indonesia), p. 388; Blussé, *Strange Company*, p. 70.

50 Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren," pp. 28-31.

51 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle,* 1665, p. 79 (13 April 1665); p. 104 (9 May 1665).

52 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1670-1671, p. 16 (4 Feb. 1670).

53 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1680, p. 855 (31 Dec. 1680); p. 147 (28 Feb. 1681). Wanjock also tried to equip his junk in the summer of 1681 to sail to Japan, but he did not reach his original destination. Instead, he stayed in Macau. He reached Japan in the summer of

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of office in October 1684. It seems Tsoa Wanjock must have taken part in this trade during his term of office, following in the footsteps of his predecessor Gaan Siquan.

Table 3: Regular Traffic of Batavian Junks in Nagasaki during 1666-1683

Year	No. of Junks Arriving in Nagasaki from Batavia	No. of Junks Arriving in Batavia from Nagasaki	Remarks
1666/67	1	1	
1667/68	1	3	
1668/69	1	2	One via Tonkin to Batavia
1669/70	3	2	
1670/71	1	2	
1671/72	3	3	
1672/73	6	4	
1673/74	6	1	One via Putuo [普陀（山）] to Nagasaki; one via Canton to Batavia
1674/75	2	1	Two via Canton to Nagasaki
1675/76	2	2	One via Tonkin to Nagasaki
1676/77	3	3	
1677/78	2	3	
1678/79	3	3	One via Zhangzhou to Nagasaki; two via Canton to Nagasaki
1679/80	N.A.	3	
1680/81	0	3	
1681/82	1	1	
1682/83	2	4	One via Siam to Nagasaki; two via Macau to Nagasaki
1683/84	2	2	
1684/85	N.A.	2	

Source: *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1664, p. 30 (3 Feb. 1664); 1666-1667, p. 223 (10 Jan. 1667); 1668-1669, pp. 25 (4 Feb. 1668), 252 (14 Feb. 1669), 266 (28 Feb. 1669),

1682, though. See: *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1682 (I), p. 10 (6 Jan. 1682); ID-JaAN 2495, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1683), fo. 118 (23 Jan. 1683).

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270 (7 Mar. 1669), 283 (31 Mar. 1669); 1670-1671, pp. 16 (4 Feb. 1670), 21 (28 Feb. 1670), 260 (17 Feb. 1671); 1672, pp. 32 (4 Feb. 1672), 33 (5 Feb. 1672), 38 (28 Feb. 1672); 1673, p. 87 (31 Mar. 1673); 1674, pp. 47 (9 Feb. 1674), 48 (15 Feb. 1674), 62 (28 Feb. 1674); 1675, pp. 66 (13 Feb. 1675), 76 (28 Feb. 1675); 1676, pp. 35 (14 Feb. 1676), 36 (17 Feb. 1676); 1677, pp. 45 (14 Feb. 1677), 152 (31 May 1677); 1678, pp. 42 (27 Jan. 1678), 260 (31 May 1678); 1679, pp. 60 (20 Feb. 1679), 222-223 (31 May 1679), 343 (31 July 1679); 1680, pp. 53 (1 Feb. 1680), 70 (10 Feb. 1680), 406 (30 June 1680); 1681, pp. 89 (7 Feb. 1681), 855-856 (31 Dec. 1681); 1682 (I), p. 143. (10 Feb. 1681); ID-JaAN 2495, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1683), fos. 11 (4 Jan. 1683), 87 (20 Jan. 1683), 118 (23 Jan. 1683), 524 (31 May 1683); ID-JaAN 2496, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1684), fos. 23 (12 Jan. 1684), 243 (27 Feb. 1684); ID-JaAN 2498, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-Aug. 1685), fos. 47 (18 Jan. 1685), 125. (17 Feb. 1685); *The Deshima Diaries* (13), pp. 193 (26 July 1666), 223 (8 July 1667), 263 (13 July 1668), 302-303 (4 July 1669), 344 (22 July 1670); VOC 1283, The Deshima Diaries (Nov. 1670-Oct. 1671), fos. 1793^{v}-1794^{r} (15-16 July 1671); VOC 1290, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1671-Nov. 1672), fos. 349^{v} (31 July 1672), 361^{r} (30 Sept. 1672); VOC 1294, The Deshima Diaries (1673), fos. 603^{r} (30 July 1673), 610^{r} (31 Aug. 1673); VOC 1304, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1673-Oct. 1674), fos. 59^{v} (30 Nov. 1673), 93^{v} (31 Aug. 1674); VOC 1314, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1674-Nov. 1675), fos. 198^{r} (31 July 1675), 208^{v} (30 Sept. 1675); VOC 1322, The Deshima Diaries (Nov. 1675-Oct. 1676), fos. 1504^{r} (13 July 1676), 1507^{r} (31 July 1676); VOC 1330, Missive van het affgaende opperhooft van Japan Dirck de Haas uijt Nangasackij naer Batavia geschreven in dato 16 October 1677 [Letter sent by Chief Merchant Dirck de Haas from Nagasaki to Batavia], Deshima, 16 Oct. 1677, fo. 726^{v}; VOC 1330, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1676-Oct. 1677), fo. 1141^{r} (16 Aug. 1677); VOC 1332, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1677-Nov. 1678), fos. 681^{r} (31 Aug. 1678), 689^{v} (30 Sept. 1678); VOC 7964, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1681-Oct. 1682), fos.75 (13 July 1682), 77 (5 Aug. 1682); VOC 1386, The Deshima Diaries (Oct. 1682-Nov. 1683), fos. 802^{v} (12 July 1683), 804^{v} (25 July 1683).

Explanation: The accounting year in above table was from this year July 1 to the following year June 30.

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Li Tsoeko, who was also an Estate Manager in the years 1665, 1668, 1669, 1673, 1674, 1677, and 1678, was the owner of the junk that arrived in Batavia from Nagasaki in the spring of 1676.[54] Not only he was Tsoa Wanjock's colleague, he also served two ranks lower than Tsoa Wanjock as the Chinese Ensign in 1678.[55] He was later given the title of Chinese Lieutenant in 1679, the first official rank below Chinese Captain. His daughter was married to the son of Su Mingkang（蘇鳴崗）, the first Chinese Captain in Batavia, and therefore his ties with the Chinese leaders were close.[56] The other junk that arrived from Nagasaki that same spring belonged to Lun Saqua. He was another of the Chinese office-holders in Batavia, and was elected a member of the Commissioners of Matrimonial and Petty Causes in 1670, taking his place alongside Tsoa Wanjock.[57]

In the springs of 1681 and 1683, a junk that belonged to Lim Sinqua (Lin Jingguan 林敬官) arrived in Batavia from Nagasaki.[58] He served as a Chinese

54 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1676, p. 36 (17 Feb. 1676); Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren," p. 96.

55 Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren," p. 30. Lieutenant and Ensign were both subsidiary leaders of Chinese community assigned to assist the Chinese Captain. See: Monique Erkelens, "The Decline of the Chinese Council of Batavia: the Loss of Prestige and Authority of the Traditional Elite amongst the Chinese Community from the End of the Nineteenth Century until 1642" (PhD diss., University Leiden, 2013), p. 67.

56 Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren," p. 96; About the biography of Su Mingkang, see: B. Hoetink, "So Bing Kong. Het Eerste Hoofd der Chineezen te Batavia (1619-1636) [So Bing Kong, the first chief of the Chinese at Batavia, 1619-1636]," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van nederlandsch-Indië* [Contributions to Linguistics Geography and Ethnology of the Indies] 73, no. 1 (1917, Leiden), pp. 344-414; B. Hoetink, "So Bing Kong, Het Eerste hoofd der Chineezen te Batavia (Eene nalezing) [So Bing Kong, the first chief of the Chinese at Batavia (further gleanings)]," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van nederlandsch-Indië* [Contributions to Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Indies] 79, no. 1 (1923, Leiden), pp. 1-44.

57 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1670-1671, p. 90 (9 June 1670).

58 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1680, p. 854 (31 Dec. 1680); *The Daily Journal of*

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officer in the Chinese Estate Chamber in 1682, 1683, and 1684.[59] Chio Junio's junk arrived in Batavia from Japan in the spring of 1681.[60] Although Chio Junio was not serving as a Company officer at that moment, he clearly qualified as a Chinese inhabitant in Batavia. Based on the record in the *Ka'i hentai*, the Chinese characters of his name can be identified as Zhao Yinniang (趙寅娘).[61] In the summer of 1685, Chio Junio departed from Batavia and reported that he was going to sail to Japan directly.[62] In the summer of 1687, his voyage to Japan was prevented by a gale, and he had to take shelter in Macau.[63] Thereafter it seems he withdrew from participation in this link between Batavia and Nagasaki. His name only emerged again in 1692, 1693, and 1694 when he applied for passes from the Batavian authorities to dispatch his junk to Aceh.[64] Like those before him, Chio Junio eventually also became an Estate Manager, in

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Batavia Castle, 1681, p. 149 (28 Feb. 1681); ID-JaAN 2495, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1683), fo. 11 (4 Jan. 1683). Lim Sinqua's junk was impounded in Amoy by the Manchus in the spring of 1682. It is implied that it might have been on a voyage to or from Nagasaki. See: *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1682 (I), p. 438 (3 April 1682).

59 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1682 (I), p. 728 (6 June 1682); ID-JaAN 897, The Batavia Resolutions (1683), fo. 377 (5 June 1683); ID-JaAN 898, The Batavia Resolutions (1684), fo. 195 (2 June 1684); Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren," p. 99.

60 *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1681, p. 856 (8 Mar. 1681).

61 Harukatsu Hayashi (林春勝) comp., *Ka'i hentai* 華夷變態, 3 vols (Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko, Shōwa 33-34 [1958-1959]), vol. 1, p. 431.

62 ID-JaAN 2498, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-Aug. 1685), fo. 414 (24 May 1685).

63 VOC 1440, Missive door de ondercoopluijden Gijsbert van der Heijden, Gerard Drijver en Adolph de Bertrij uijt de baij van Maserican aen haer Eds. tot Batavia geschreven [Letter sent by Assistant Merchants Gijsbert van der Heijden, Gerard Brijver and Adolph de Bertrij in the Bay of Maserican to the Governor-General in Batavia], Canton, 25 Oct. 1687, fo. 2267[r].

64 ID-JaAN 2508, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1692), fo. 316 (6 May 1692); ID-JaAN 2510, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1693), fo. 416 (8 May 1693); ID-JaAN 2512, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-May 1694), fo. 374 (11 May 1694); Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren," pp. 31, 48.

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1703.[65] Chio Junio's story was not exceptional, but reflects a new general tendency in the investment flow of the Batavian Chinese officers. The Chinese traders based in Amoy or other harbors on the Chinese coast first joined and later totally usurped the Batavian Chinese's position in this trade. They made their first bid in 1685, when the Qing Emperor, Kangxi, proclaimed his edict lifting the maritime ban. One case shows that, even before the Emperor's edict was proclaimed in October 1684, a Chinese trader in Batavia had targeted the trade with Amoy, applying for passes from the Batavian authorities that summer for relatives in Amoy. This would have enabled the recipients to send their cargo on a junk from Amoy to Batavia during the following north monsoon season in the winter of 1684.[66] The successor to captain Tsoa Wanjock, Quee Conko (Guo Junge 郭郡哥), who was inaugurated in August 1685, joined some other Chinese officers in Batavia and requested a pass to send their junks to the west coast of Sumatra in May 1686. Their requests were granted, and thereafter this trade also became a prerogative reserved solely for the Batavian Chinese officers. Among these privileged traders, the abovementioned Lim Sinqua (in the records after 1685 written as Lim Keeko and Lim Keequa), who was an incumbent Chinese lieutenant, was appointed the next Chinese captain in June 1695.[67] The Batavian Chinese officers' participation in the trade to Aceh can be seen as an extension of their permission to trade on the west coast of Sumatra. For example, a Chinese trader Tan Sinqua, who joined Chio Junio in dispatching a junk to Nagasaki in 1687, was probably the same person recorded as Tant Seequa who applied for a pass for Aceh from the Batavian authorities in 1691.[68]

65 Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren," p. 100.

66 ID-JaAN 2496, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1684), fo. 696 (13 June 1684).

67 ID-JaAN 900, The Batavia Resolutions (1686), fos. 245-246 (28 May 1686).

68 VOC 1440, Missive door de ondercoopluijden Gijsbert van der Heijden, Gerard Drijver en Adolph de Bertrij uijt de baij van Maserican aen haer Eds. tot Batavia geschreven [Letter sent by Assistant- Merchants Gijsbert van der Heijden, Gerard Brijver and Adolph de Bertrij in the

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Based on the records of *Ka'i hentai*, Yao has disclosed that junks still consistently registered as Batavian vessels when they arrived in Nagasaki in the period 1715-1730. As a counter-check, he also examined the Dutch records of the junks' arrival in Batavia in the same period and discovered that "In the early 18th century most junks came from the Chinese mainland, and a few from other ports of Southeast Asia. Moreover, junks coming to Batavia from Japan ended in 1714, and those to Japan ceased in the middle of the 1720s."[69] When Yao put the Japanese and Dutch accounts together, he came to the logical conclusion that, after the middle of the 1720s, very few Batavian junks ever made direct voyages from Batavia to Nagasaki. They always called at some Chinese harbors before they reached Nagasaki; both outward and homeward bound. My research results agree with Yao's observation, although a few revisions are needed. I have extended Yao's table retrospectively to 1685 as shown in the Table 4, and found that after the 1690s almost no nachoda departed from Batavia claiming that he was going to sail to Nagasaki directly. It seems to me that on the link between Batavia and Nagasaki, from the 1690s, the Batavian nachoda had been largely replaced by colleagues based in China, even though the latter still possessed property and had family in Batavia (and continued the trade on this route via Chinese harbors). Yao has extracted one case in which a Batavian Chinese nachoda Zheng Kongdian (鄭孔典) returned to Fuzhou, his hometown in China, on his way from Japan back to Batavia in 1719. Although he settled in Fuzhou, he continued to claim to be a Batavian nachoda and therefore to be qualified to hand over his pass to his brother from Batavia in Shanghai in 1720.[70] This shift of base could have been triggered by the Chinese emperor's

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Bay of Maserican to the Governor-General in Batavia], Canton, 25 October 1687, fo. 2267[r]; ID-JaAN 2507, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1691), fo. 212 (11 May 1691).

69 Yao, "The Chinese Junk Trade," pp. 13-14, Table 3-1, Table 3-2.

70 Yao, "The Chinese Junk Trade," pp. 11-12.

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proclamation of a maritime ban on Chinese junks sailing to all Southeast Asian harbors in the period 1717-1727.[71] Aware of this ban, the Batavian authorities turned down the application of some Chinese citizens to sail to Canton in 1718 to avoid any chance of upsetting the Chinese court.[72]

Table 4: The Decline of Direct Voyages from Batavia to Nagasaki

Date of Departure	No. of Junks Departing from Batavia and Bound for Nagasaki	Date of Arrival	No. of Junks Arriving in Batavia from Nagasaki
1684-		1685-1-18 1685-2-17	2
1685-5-24	1	1686-2-6	1
1687-6-6	1	1688-	
1689-6-27	1	1690-	
1690-		1691-1-28	1
1693-		1694-1-15	1
1694-		1695-3-11	1
1695-		1696-3-3 1696-3-5	2
1696-		1696-12-17	1
1697-		1698-2-11 1698-3-6	2
1710-6-30	1	1711-4-4	1
1711-		1712-	

71 For a factual explanation of why the Qing court suddenly altered its earlier policy to ban the Chinese Southeast Asian trade and resumed the open policy, see: Zhao Gang, *The Qing Opening to the Ocean: Chinese Maritime Policies, 1684-1757* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), pp. 153-168. Although the ban was formally lifted in 1727, junks from Canton had resumed visiting Batavia starting in 1722. The junks from Amoy resumed their business with the same place only after 1727. Hence this ban might have affected the Amoy traders more than their counterparts in Canton. See: Blussé, *Strange Company*, p. 133.

72 J. De Hullu, "Over den Chinaschen Handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie in de eerste dertig jaar van de 18e eeuw [On the VOC's China trade in the first thirty years of the eighteenth century]," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van nederlandsch-Indië* [Contributions to Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Indies] 73, no. 1 (1917, Leiden), p. 45.

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Date of Departure	No. of Junks Departing from Batavia and Bound for Nagasaki	Date of Arrival	No. of Junks Arriving in Batavia from Nagasaki
1712-		1713-	
1713-		1714-2-18	1
1715-		1716-1-9	1
		1719*	1

Source: ID-JaAN 2498, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-Aug. 1685), fos. 47-48 (18 Jan. 1685), 125 (17 Feb. 1685), 414 (24 May 1685); ID-JaAN 2500, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-May 1686), fo. 83 (6 Feb. 1686); ID-JaAN 2502, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1687), fo. 370 (6 June 1687); ID-JaAN 2504, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1689), fo. 410 (27 June 1689); ID-JaAN 2507, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1691), fo. 37 (28 Jan. 1691); ID-JaAN 2512, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-May 1694), fo. 20 (15 Jan. 1694); ID-JaAN 2514, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1695), fo. 187 (11 Mar. 1695); ID-JaAN 2515, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1696), fos. 143, 146 (3, 5 Mar. 1696); ID-JaAN 2516, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (June-Dec. 1696), fo. 989 (27 Dec. 1696); ID-JaAN 2518, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1698), fos. 82 (11 Feb. 1698), 147 (6 Mar. 1698); ID-JaAN 2534, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1710), fo. 348 (30 June 1710); ID-JaAN 2535, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1711), fo. 285 (4 April. 1711); ID-JaAN 2540, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1714), fo. 179 (18 Feb. 1714); ID-JaAN 2543, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1716), fo. 11 (9 Jan. 1716); ID-JaAN 2548, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (May-Sept. 1719), fo. 400 (30 June 1719).

Explanation: "*" means the exact date of arrival is not recorded.

I have examined the direct link between Batavia and Nagasaki and concluded that this link was only viable when a loophole was created at places beyond the reach of different maritime powers. In the 1630s, the VOC had decided not to encourage this link, but it acquiesced in the business of the Batavian Chinese on this link after it had secured the Chinese coast in 1664. From 1666 to 1687, this trade became a special domain of the Chinese officers in Batavia, especially the Estate Managers, who were entrusted with the legacies of their late countrymen. After the Qing court opened all coasts to

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oceanic trade, the trade between Nagasaki and Batavia was increasingly intermediated by the harbors on the Chinese coast. Eventually the profit margins of the Batavia-Nagasaki route could not survive the new competition introduced by investors in Chinese harbor cities after the 1690s.

In sum, the growth of this link was primarily attributable to the gaps in different regional maritime power projections. The Chinese nachoda who lived in Quinam and Siam were pioneers in running this link during the late 1640s. They owed their position to the fact that, after the VOC took Malacca in 1641, it prevented all Chinese junks from trading from Malacca to China and Japan (except those Chinese residents in Japan after 1664).[73] The VOC redirected the Chinese traders to visit Batavia instead of Malacca, but it was powerless to oppose these pioneers if they were protected by local rulers or the Japanese Shogun. In the late 1650s, the war between Zheng Chenggong and the VOC greatly raised the risk of venturing into this business. The resultant tension dramatically opened up a space for the Chinese officers in Batavia, who had gained the trust of the VOC and enjoyed special treatment from the 1660s to 1690s, when new waves of Chinese junk traders gained the upper hand, seizing the opportunity offered by Emperor Kangxi's policy of re-opening international trade. The Chinese officers withdrew their investments from this route and sought better opportunities in the trade with the ports in West Sumatra, especially Aceh, which was also a privileged trade excluding all other Chinese.

4. The Cargo

The other significant background factors along this route were the disruption in the coastal order after the fall of the Ming Empire in China

73 ID-JaAN 876, The Batavia Resolutions (1664), fo. 97 (1 April 1664).

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between 1644-1662 and the maritime ban and coastal evacuation that lasted from 1663 to 1683 under the Qing Empire. The trade between Chinese harbors and Batavia was almost entirely monopolized by the Zheng clan in the former period, and it was cut off because of continuous wars on the Chinese coast and the antagonism between the Zheng and the VOC during the latter period. Only in the 1670s did the smuggling trade in Macau gain popularity among the Batavian Chinese junk traders. Nevertheless, the emergence of this link ran parallel with the suspension of the link between Chinese harbors and Batavia. This seems to be one of the reasons the Batavian authorities acquiesced in their Chinese subjects running this business.[74] In other words, this line could supply the demands of Chinese residents, whereas the profits margins were too negligible to waste the Company vessels in transportation.

Table 5 shows the scale of crew on this line. In the 1660s, a junk would not have carried a crew of more than 40. This number would have risen to about 70 in the 1670s. Two voyages in 1679 and 1680 respectively carried crew of more than 100. Usually a small Dutch yacht also had to be manned by about 70 crew members, so obviously this channel was not a covert immigration route.

Table 6 shows three commodities consistently carried from Nagasaki to Batavia alongside a miscellany of other goods: copper, porcelain and laxa. According to later Dutch records, "laxa" usually refers to a kind of Chinese noodle made of refined flour and dried in the sun. It could therefore be preserved longer than raw noodles.[75] The copper imports obviously expanded

74 Blussé offers another explanation. He infers that the Batavian authorities needed this channel to maintain an unofficial communication with the Zheng regime in Taiwan. See: Blussé, *Strange Company*, p. 119. Salmon has suggested that such a favor was granted because the Batavian authorities intended to damage Zheng's trade in Japan. See: Claudine Salmon, *Ming Loyalist in Southeast Asia: As Perceived through Various Asian and European Records* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), p. 72.

75 Engelbert Kaempfer, *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan* [History and description of

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after the 1670s, and the amount of laxa peaked in 1679-1683. Although it is difficult to compare the amount of porcelain before and after 1672 when the packing units changed, it seems its import maintained a certain level after 1668, when the trade on this route had stabilized. Other frequently imported wares included desks, iron woks and copper water pots. Besides laxa, other foodstuffs frequently imported were tea, soya sauce, pickles and sake (Japanese rice wine). Those goods were to supply the daily needs of the gradually expanding Chinese community that was engaging in the growing agricultural production. Copper could be used to make plough-shares and hard building elements used in wooden houses. The cooking utensils represented an increase in the number of kitchens, feeding the growing number of mouths of those who were undoubtedly being added to the labor forces on the plantations in Batavia. The special condiments also reflected a desire for better culinary variety after the basic needs had been met.

As the discussion has mentioned above, the junks sailing on this line during the 1660s-1670s sometimes called at Tonkin and Quinam rather than China, where the ports were closed by the war. This trade was an extension of the need of the Chinese traders there to obtain more commodities to supply the Japanese market. For example, sugar and deerskins were in high demand in Japan and could also be obtained in Quinam and Tonkin. There is a good reason to conclude that the junks carrying these goods to these places must have been intending to sail on farther from Tonkin and Quinam to continue their voyage to Japan.

Japan], 2 vols (Lemgo: Verlage der Meyerschen Buchhandlung, 1777-1779), vol. 2, p. 176, "The Chinese laxa is a thin sort of a pap or paste, made of fine wheat flour, cut into small, thin, long slices, and baked." A similar record could be found in a book on herbs in Ambon Island. See: Georgius Everhardus Rumphius, *Het Amboinsch kruid-boek* [The Ambonese Herb-book], 6 vols (Amsterdam: Meinard Uytwerf, 1741-1750), vol. 5, p. 388.

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Table 5: Amount of Crew on Junks Sailing Batavia-Nagasaki Route

Date of Registration	Amount of Vessels	Amount of Crew	Average Crew
1664-2-3	1	30	30
1666-2-28	1	35	35
1667-1-31	2	50	25
1668-2-4	3	90	30
1669-2-28	1	40	40
1669-3-31	1	30	30
1670-2-28	2	130	65
1671-2-28	2	120	60
1672-2-28	3	500	166
1673-3-31	4	300	75
1674-2-28	1	70	70
1675-2-28	2	150	65
1678-5-31	2	110	55
1679-5-31	1	45	45
1679-7-31	1	100	100
1680-6-30	1	155	155
1683-5-31	1	50	50
1684-5-30	1	30	30
1685-3-31	1	18	18
1686-4-30	1	23	23
1686-5-31	1	40	40
1707-4-30	2	137	64
1714-5-31	1	59	59
1719-6-30	1	60	60

Source: *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1664, p. 30 (3 Feb. 1664); 1666-1667, pp. 19 (28 Feb. 1666), 230 (31 Jan. 1667); 1668-1669, pp. 35 (28 Feb. 1668), 266 (28 Feb. 1669), 283 (31 Mar. 1669); 1670-1671, pp. 21 (28 Feb. 1670), 266 (28 Feb. 1671); 1672, p. 38 (28 Feb. 1672); 1673, p. 87 (31 Mar. 1673); 1674, p. 62 (28 Feb. 1674); 1675, p. 76 (28 Feb. 1675); 1678, p. 260 (31 May 1678); 1679, pp. 222 (31 May 1679), 343 (31 July 1679); 1680, p. 406 (30 June 1680); ID-JaAN 2495, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1683), fo. 524 (31 May 1683); ID-JaAN 2496, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1684), fo. 602 (30 May 1684); ID-JaAN 2498, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle

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(Jan.-Aug. 1685), fo. 242 (31 Mar. 1685); ID-JaAN 2500, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-May 1686), fos. 526 (30 April 1686), 750 (31 May 1686); ID-JaAN 2530 The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1707), fo. 244 (30 April 1707); ID-JaAN 2540, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1714), fo. 599 (31 May 1714).

Table 6: Cargo Constantly Carried by Junks Sailing Nagasaki to Batavia

No	Date of Registration	Copper (Chests)	Porcelain (Pieces)	Laxa (Chests)
1	1664-2-3		8,3890	
2	1666-2-28	80	1,500 + (straw bundles) 50	20
3	1667-1-10	170	(bundles) 2,950	25
4	1668-2-28	270	78,100	60
5	1669-2-28	200	79,480	10
6	1669-3-31	85	27,750	
7	1670-2-28	500	678,000	
8	1671-2-28	1,100	47,200	(bundles) 10
9	1672-2-28	3,100	31,200	100
10	1673-3-31	2,850	(bundles) 5,400	26
11	1674-2-28	250	(straw bundles) 2,600	10
12	1675-2-28	1,500	(straw bundles) 4,650	24
13	1678-5-31	2,520	(straw bundles) 5,260	58
14	1679-5-31	918	(straw bundles) 1,924	19 +(baskets) 2
15	1679-7-31	5,420	(straw bundles) 4,178	159
16	1680-6-30	3,972	(bundles) 5,554	506
17	1681-2-7	1,204	1,792	159
18	1681-2-28	3,200	(bundles) 3,000	40
19	1681-3-8		120,000	
20	1683-1-20	409	(straw bundles) 1,110	55
21	1683-5-31	1,702	(straw bundles) 2,295	(baskets) 153
22	1684-5-30	59	(bundles) 2	(bags) 53
23	1685-3-31	280	(straw bundles) 515	50
24	1686-4-30	400	(straw bundles) 1,539	43

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No	Date of Registration	Copper (Chests)	Porcelain (Pieces)	Laxa (Chests)
25	1686-5-31	960	(straw bundles) 1,229	27
26	1707-4-30	530		
27	1714-5-31	(picul) 353	13,690	

Source: *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1664, p. 30 (3 Feb. 1664); 1666-1667, pp. 19 (28 Feb. 1666), 230 (31 Jan. 1667); 1668-1669, pp. 35 (28 Feb. 1668), 266 (28 Feb. 1669), 283 (31 Mar. 1669); 1670-1671, pp. 21 (28 Feb. 1670), 266 (28 Feb. 1671); 1672, p. 38 (28 Feb. 1672); 1673, p. 87 (31 Mar. 1673); 1674, p. 62 (28 Feb. 1674); 1675, p. 76 (28 Feb. 1675); 1678, p. 260 (31 May 1678); 1679, pp. 222 (31 May 1679), 343 (31 July 1679); 1680, pp. 406 (30 June 1680), 856 (31 Dec. 1680); 1681, pp. 89 (7 Feb. 1681), 147 (28 Feb. 1681); ID-JaAN 2495, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1683), fos. 87 (20 Jan. 1683), 524 (31 May 1683); ID-JaAN 2496, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1684), fo. 602 (30 May 1684); ID-JaAN 2498, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-Aug. 1685), fo. 242 (31 Mar. 1685); ID-JaAN 2500, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-May 1686), fos. 526 (30 April 1686), 750 (31 May 1686); ID-JaAN 2530, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1707), fos. 244-245 (30 April 1707); ID-JaAN 2540, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1714), fo. 599 (31 May 1714).

Explanation: 1 Batavian picul equals to 60.268 kg.

Table 7 shows that the main investment of overseas Chinese traders in Batavia was in brown sugar and deerskins. In 1710, a junk reported that she had sailed directly from Batavia to Nagasaki; she was still loaded with sugar, representing about 60% of her total value, along with deerskins, rattan, sappanwood and putchock (*Saussurea lappa*). By that time, there were almost no longer any direct voyages from Batavia bound for Nagasaki.[76] As we also know from the discussion, in the 1670s the smuggling trade in China was expanding and the Batavian traders had also seized the opportunity to call at Chinese harbors before reaching Nagasaki. Table 8 shows the major commodities they carried.

76 ID-JaAN 2534, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1710), fo. 347 (30 June 1710).

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Table 7: Cargo to be Sold in Nagasaki and Exported from Batavia by Chinese Junks

Date of Registration	No. of Vessels	Destination Reported	White Sugar (Rixdollars)	Brown Sugar (Rixdollars)	Deerskins (Rixdollars)
1665-6-30	2	Quinam	30	402.5	104
1669-5-31	2	Quinam		3,700	315
	1	Tonkin		2,730	43
1671-6-30	3	Quinam	3,947.5	137 (4,038 Finer brown sugar)	216
1673-6-30	3	Quinam		5,300	
1674-7-31	1	Tonkin		435	
	1	Quinam		4,402	
1676-6-30	1	Tonkin	180		

Source: *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1665, p. 152 (30 June 1665); 1668-1669, p. 334 (31 May 1669); 1670-1671, p. 105 (30 June 1670); 1673, p. 179 (30 June 1673); 1674, p. 205 (31 July 1674); 1676, p. 148 (30 June 1676).

Table 8: Cargoes Carried by Batavian Junks to Chinese Coast

Date of Departure	No. of Vessels	Destination	Sandalwood (Rixdollars)	Pepper (Rixdollars)
1671-6-30	1	Canton	112	1,200
	3	China	3,960	15,600
1672-6-30	3	Macau		16,079
1674-7-31	4	Macau	6,600	6,804
1675-7-30	2	China.		1,800
1677-7-31	1	Canton		2,844

Source: *The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle*, 1670-1671, p. 368 (30 June 1671); 1672, p. 171 (30 June 1672); 1674, p. 205 (31 July 1674); 1675, p. 177 (30 July 1675); 1677, p. 248 (31 July 1677).

It seems the Batavian Chinese carried sandalwood and pepper to China, and traded these for contraband Chinese silks. This kind of trade had earlier been monopolized by the Zheng force's junks during the 1630s-1661. When the China coast was re-opened by Emperor Kangxi in the spring of 1685, the Chinese traders in Amoy were not immediately ready to fill this gap, so the Batavian Chinese were still able to make a profit in the old way that very year.

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But the following year, 4 junks from Macau, 6 junks from Amoy and 2 junks from Zhangzhou approached Batavia and offered large amounts of porcelain and laxa on the market. They shoe-horned Batavian Chinese out of this business because they could offer these goods at more advantageous prices.[77] Besides this shift, the Chinese traders based in Canton and Macau had also become the main buyers of pepper and sandalwood in Batavia, depriving the Batavian traders of this profit opportunity if they called at Canton before approaching Nagasaki. The only remaining profitable commodity was the Japanese copper. Under the maritime ban, the scarcity of copper had driven the price of copper coins to tantalizingly high levels and upset the stability of the currency market. Hence, after the sea prohibition was rescinded, the court allowed traders to procure large quantities of Japanese copper to mint new copper coins.[78] After 1688, sometimes even the Chinese junks from Canton would purchase Japanese copper bars in Batavia.[79] Consequently, even the profits gained by importing Japanese copper were not enough to sustain this Batavia-Nagasaki trading route. The commodities carried by the Chinese junks sailing directly from Nagasaki to Batavia in 1690s were barely recorded, probably because the values of their cargoes were too negligible. Possibly they carried only Japanese manufactured goods and specialized foodstuffs. Meanwhile, the junks that came from the Chinese coast gradually began to include Japanese goods in their cargo. For example, in 1697, 6 junks from Amoy carried Japanese copper (77 chests), Japanese porcelain plates (1,800 pieces), Japanese copper teapots (13 chests) and Japanese cuttlefish (14 bags). They also carried Chinese goods that could

77 ID-JaAN 2500, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-May 1686), fo. 526 (30 April 1686); fo. 749 (31 May 1686).

78 John Hall, "Notes on The Early Ch'ing Copper Trade with Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12, no. 3/4 (1949, Cambridge, MA), pp. 452-454.

79 ID-JaAN 2503, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1688), fo. 289 (30 June 1688); ID-JaAN 2504, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1689), fo. 425 (31 May 1689).

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compete with Japanese products, like large amounts of Chinese porcelain, laxa and flour.[80] More and more Japanese goods were included as time went by. According to the list of commodities given by 9 Amoy junks that arrived in Batavia in the spring of 1707, instead of Japanese copper, they carried less important Japanese manufactured goods like Japanese desks, soya sauces and dried cuttlefish.[81] It is certain that at that time most of Nagasaki's exports had to be transferred via the Chinese coast. In 1714, when the second last Batavian junk carried out a voyage on this line, she was still loaded with Japanese copper, porcelain and Japanese manufactures. However, her load of porcelain amounted to only 8% of the total export of porcelain that was carried by other Chinese junks to Batavia.[82] It did not carry any laxa because other Chinese junks had already supplied a large amount. The junk that arrived from Nagasaki in 1719 is the last voyage that can be traced in the Dutch archives. The short maritime ban imposed by the Qing between 1717 and 1727, which prevented any Chinese junks using harbors on the Chinese coast from re-exporting the goods from Batavia to Nagasaki and vice-versa, might have tempted Chinese traders to revive this link again. However, even with this advantage, the amount of porcelain carried on it was still only 16% of that carried by vessels from Macau that counted as foreign vessels and did not fall under the Emperor's ban.[83]

This analysis of the major commodities in this trade explains how, in the competition with the traders from China, the Batavian Chinese junk traders won their own corner with the help of the Qing maritime ban in the 1660s-1680s. This advantage inevitably declined when the Chinese harbors were reopened

80 ID-JaAN 2518, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (1698), fos. 201-202 (30 Mar. 1698).

81 ID-JaAN 2530, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-July 1707), fo. 244 (30 April 1707).

82 ID-JaAN 2540, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (Jan.-June 1714), fos. 599-600 (31 May 1714).

83 ID-JaAN 2548, The Daily Journal of Batavia Castle (May-Sept. 1719), fos. 399-400 (30 June 1719); fo. 508 (31 July 1719).

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after the 1690s. It also reveals this trade was linked to the expansion of Chinese cultivation in Java. The Chinese captains and the estate managers enjoyed a privileged status in this trade thanks to the tolerance of the Batavian authorities. It also explains why the Chinese sources hardly ever mention this quite extraordinary trade managed by Chinese officers under the Dutch. In the Chinese wooden inscriptions in the Batavian Chinese Hall, Tsoa Wanjock is commemorated not as a leader of commerce during his term of office, but as a promoter of agricultural expansion.[84] The commodity list of imports from Japan explains how Tsoa Wanjock handled this Chinese colonization—— by offering and controlling the means of production. When new Chinese immigrants poured into Batavia again after the 1680s, these Chinese officers' privileged commercial status ebbed away. The center of the Chinese junk trade shifted back to the coast of China again.

5. Conclusion

I have briefly reviewed the voyages, participants, and cargoes in the Chinese junk trade on the route between Batavia and Nagasaki, and have revealed how this trade was managed by Chinese officers in Batavia in the gaps between the powers exercised by different maritime jurisdictions. In the grip of the transnational Chinese and Japanese traders, their fellows in Batavia established this route before 1665 and later the regular shipping carried by the Batavian Chinese in 1666-1719. This reveals how the opportune leeway

84 Lai Kuei-san 賴貴三, "Helan laidundaxue hanxue yanjiuyuan diancang yinni huaqiao 'baguo gongtang' dangcang ji bianlianmupai kaoshijiaoji 荷蘭萊頓大學漢學研究院典藏印尼華僑「吧國公堂」檔案暨匾聯木牌考釋校記 [Collation of Archives from "Batavia Court of Law"-Records of Official Business for Overseas Chinese in Indonesia Kept in Sinology Institute of Leiden University, The Netherlands]," *Bulletin of Chinese* 國文學報 35 (June 2004, Taipei), p. 231.

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afforded them, in the shifting political landscapes between China, Japan, VOC, the Zheng clans and Southeast Asian kingdoms, was seized by the transnational Chinese traders.

Blussé has pointed out that Canton, Nagasaki and Batavia were three of the most prominent maritime gateways to different early modern states in the 18th century, and that, together with European partners, the Chinese private traders benefited from all 3 gateways. Although the 3 harbors belonged to states organized on different political principles (kingdom, feudal state and Company colony), their trading institutions effectively regulated exchanges while keeping alien elements that could have endangered the ruling foundation of their states at bay.[85] Their success was a result of unremitting experimentation throughout the whole 17th century. Seen from this perspective, the Chinese traders on the route between Batavia and Nagasaki were pioneers who participated in the quest for new common arrangements in the transnational maritime trade. When the Batavian Chinese ran their trade on this route, they were tolerated by the Zheng force in the waters north of what was then Tonkin and were protected by Dutch passes in the waters to the south of Tonkin in the South China Sea.[86] When they sailed to the waters farther north of Tonkin in the East China Sea, they were nominally under Japanese protection, and the Dutch tolerated their trespassing because these vessels belonged to Chinese officers in Batavia. This demonstrates that oceanic commercial activities went ahead, bypassing the tricky official diplomatic relations (for instance, the antagonism between the Zhengs and the VOC, the Qing and the Zhengs, and the Qing and Japan), because the views of the world order of all three (China, Japan and the Dutch)

85 Leonard Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 26-34.

86 Salmon proves the Chinese captains in Batavia, like Gaan Siquan and Tsoa Wanjock, were actually familiar with subjects under the Zheng rule. See: Salmon, *Ming Loyalist in Southeast Asia*, pp. 71-72.

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were so far apart as to be unbridgeable. Although the Japanese authorities reduced the numbers of Chinese junks by issuing only a limited number of passes in 1714, and the Chinese emperor banned oceanic trade briefly between 1717 and 1727, the major structure allowing Chinese private traders to run their businesses remained intact. From the 18th century onwards, the Chinese private junk traders were rarely viewed as unwanted foreign elements by the Chinese and Japanese authorities, as they had been in the turbulent years in the late 16th and early 17th century.

Known to be the longest voyage in the East and South China Seas, the average sailing time of this voyage reveals the time-space scale of Chinese junk trade in this region. The time span needed to pass all posts along the shores of the continent, peninsula and islands between Batavia and Nagasaki in both winter and summer was about 30 days and 50 days respectively. This can be compared with a similar time span required by traffic on land. An urgent official letter sent by the Canton governor (from Guangzhou) arrived at the Emperor's court in Peking in about 40 days on horseback, while the Dutch tributary embassy took 135 days to complete their voyage with their presents for the Emperor.[87] This viewpoint on distance tells us that the junk traders in Canton and Amoy might not have thought that Beijing was closer than Batavia. [88] The whole voyage from the north to the south in the China Seas (in winter) took no

87 Leonard Blussé, "*Heshi chufang Zhongguoji" yanjiu* 《荷使初訪中國記》研究 [Studies on the First Dutch Tributary Mission to China in 1656], trans. Zhuang Guotu (Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 1989), pp. 35, 80.

88 The official records affirm that the distance of the sea route between Amoy and Tientsin (Tienjin, the harbor nearest Beijing) is 112 "geng." This can be converted into a voyage of about 12 days and nights on board. Hence Beijing is nearer than Batavia. However, it also proves the mental picture of the traders sailing the coast could have been quite different from that of the traders using the land route. See: Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society: the Amoy network on the China Coast, 1683-1735* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 1983), p. 121; Blussé, *Visible Cities*, p. 29.

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longer than the voyage between Guangzhou and Beijing within the Chinese empire itself when riding almost non-stop on horseback. The scale of the maritime movement in the whole region would not have been perceived as either extraordinary or as on an incomprehensible scale, because the time taken for the voyage would not have been unusual for a journey undertaken within the Chinese empire itself. When no more traders undertook this long voyage after the second decade of the 18th century, most of the voyages between these two destinations involved either staying longer in Chinese harbors to exchange cargoes or were divided into two parts, each the work of different junks and crews in the harbors on Chinese shores. As the voyage became shorter, the scale of movement of individual vessels was also reduced. This reduction might have reflected the limitations of the scale familiar to the Chinese traders as they moved around the East Asian world, sheltered by the navigational limitations and geo-political situations that created a comfort zone for the Chinese traders in the 18th century.

Finally, when war prevented the Chinese officers from returning to China, the tendency to form a local Batavian community emerged more markedly. The trade on the Batavia-Nagasaki line facilitated the autonomy of the local community that was tolerated by the Dutch authorities. Consequently, after 1683 their interests began to diverge from those of the other Chinese in the vicinity. The latter were mostly either newly imported laborers unable to engage in the administration of Dutch authorities, or new traders who did not want to stay long enough to build local relationships. The Chinese capitan, Quee Conko, filed a petition with the High Government of the Indies, in which he complained that he would not be able to control the newcomers if the immigrant population continued to grow. The Batavian authorities decided to divide the Chinese inhabitants living in town before 1683 on the basis of a visual peculiarity. These Chinese, who had probably arrived before the Manchus had imposed new rules on dress in China, still wore their long hair in a bun gathered at the top of the

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head, differing from the newcomers, who had been forced to wear their hair in a pigtail under the Qing in China. The two sections of Chinese people were subject to different regulations.[89] It is hard to establish whether differences among the Chinese population in Batavia also reflected the differences between Batavian junk traders and the Chinese traders based in Amoy. However, this study has shown that the Chinese officers had also been pushed out of the Nagasaki-Batavia route by Amoy-based traders and had to put another string to their bow by pursuing openings in the newly rising emporium in Aceh. It is not my goal to discuss in what context and to what extent the Chinese officers' business developed in Aceh. However, it is worth mentioning that William Dampier witnessed Chinese junks there in 1688 and claimed that every year between 10 and 12 vessels would arrive there.[90] This prosperity did not last into the 1760s, and Bassett has noted that as early as 1716 only 2 Chinese junks arrived in Aceh from Malacca and Java respectively. He believes this record implies that from that moment a period of decline set in.[91]

All in all, this long-range trade pursued by the Chinese officers, although carried out with the acquiescence of the Batavian authorities, had a strong impact on shaping the autonomy of the Chinese community, but was soon forgotten when agricultural plantations became the economic mainstay of the Batavian Chinese citizens after the first decade of the 18th century.

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（責任編輯：洪麗崴　校對：石昇烜　李　頎）

89 Blussé, *Strange Company*, p. 127.

90 Salmon, *Ming Loyalists in Southeast Asia*, pp. 57-60.

91 D. K. Bassett, "British 'Country' Trade and Local trade Networks in the Thai and Malay States, c. 1680-1770," *Modern Asian Studies* 23, no. 4 (October 1989, Cambridge), pp. 638-639.

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串連「看得見的城市」：長崎—巴達維亞航線上的唐船貿易（1665-1719）

鄭　維　中*

提　要

在荷蘭東印度公司（VOC）於長崎與雅加達（之後為巴達維亞）間建立航線前，兩地少有貿易聯繫。17 世紀中期，兩地間的唐船貿易，由鄭成功轄下商人經廈門中轉進行。1650 年代起，鄭氏家族與東印度公司間的商務爭端日漸升高，導致 1661 年之戰爭。1669 年起，巴達維亞當局放寬對直航長崎與巴達維亞兩地之唐船的控制。東寧鄭氏政權與巴達維亞之荷蘭東印度公司持續敵對，加上鄭氏與清廷的對立，以及中國與日本無國交的狀態，巴達維亞唐人遂得以在 1665 至 1719 年間進行長崎—巴達維亞直航貿易。

本文運用已出版及未出版的檔案文書資料，檢視並描繪巴達維亞唐人營運此一航線的興衰，並歸納其航行日程跨度、一般人員人數與貨物種類。作者發現，此一航線興起的關鍵在於巴達維亞當局之默許，而其營運與巴達維亞唐人夷官投資農業開發有關。此一運用政治對立下的模糊空間進行跨國貿易的經驗，則為 18 世紀唐人於中國海各地廣泛從事貿易之先聲。

關鍵詞：長崎　巴達維亞　唐船貿易　荷蘭東印度公司　巴達維亞唐人

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